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# Breakdown at Wears but not uniform

## Geneva

By ROY SHERWOOD

**R**EPORTING the Russian walk-out from the Geneva 10-nation disarmament conference on Monday, the American Forces Broadcasting Programme the same evening said that Western observers considered the resulting situation to be "touchy."

*The Times* in its leading article on Tuesday morning, though also taking a serious view, did not go half so far in pessimism. Most other British newspaper comment, with the *News Chronicle* angry enough to refer to the walk-out as an outrage, was in general agreement that the Russians had committed an enormous propaganda blunder.

This seems to me incorrect in every respect. The most important point about the walk-out, to my mind, is that it is fundamentally unimportant. I see it as a mainly tactical manoeuvre to force the disarmament discussions back into the United Nations where, the Russians may hope, the presence of delegates from many countries not represented at Geneva is likely to prove helpful to the Soviet proposals.

★

The contention voiced by the American

# ALDERMASTON MARCHER IN GUARDROOM

By IAN DIXON

**A 23-YEAR-OLD ALDERMASTON MARCHER, GEOFFREY HUTCHINSON, FROM RIPLEY, DERBYSHIRE, WAS ARRESTED LAST FRIDAY AND CONFINED TO THE GUARDROOM AT A ROYAL ARMY MEDICAL CORPS UNIT AT QUEEN ELIZABETH BARRACKS, CROOKHAM, HAMPSHIRE.**

"I shall refuse to march, wear uniform or remove my Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament badge," he told me in Derby last week.

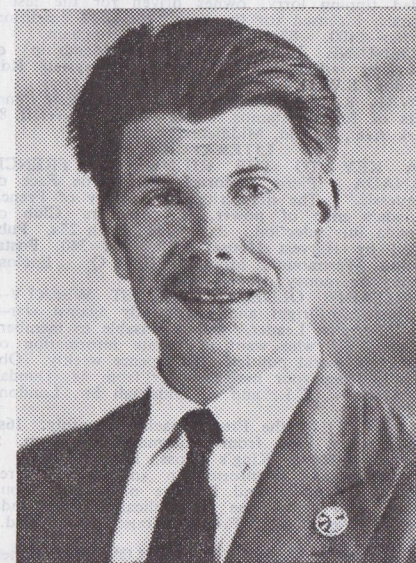
He arrived at the camp on June 23 at 4.15 p.m. with one change of civilian clothing. In a letter to *Peace News* from the camp later the same day he explained that on arrival with about 20 other conscripts he was asked routine questions and given a yellow badge denoting his unit. This he pinned beneath his CND badge. A corporal queried his two badges and was presented with a précis of his views. The corporal laughed heartily and wished him the best of luck.

After the traditional "short back and sides" haircut, the twenty new conscripts gathered in the barrack room. At 8 p.m. a corporal came in and suggested that each man talk for a few minutes on his home and hobbies. Geoffrey Hutchinson rose and gave a five-minute talk on Christian pacifism. He announced his intention of refusing to wear uniform. The silence was absolute.

The news spread and soon he was being badgered with questions from the other recruits.

### Awaiting court martial

The following morning he refused to



Geoffrey Hutchinson, the Aldermaston

### LABOUR AND 'DEFENCE'

The new policy statement  
is discussed in  
J. Allen Skinner's



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The contention voiced by the American representative at Geneva that the Russians "went there not to negotiate but to forestall negotiations" is surely arrant nonsense. Such an attitude could benefit them only if they were struggling for time because they were lagging behind in the nuclear and conventional weapons race—which is widely known not to be so.

Nor is the view that the walk-out amounts to an enormous propaganda blunder well justified. Even in the West there are many people who consider their own side's slowness to justify Russian impatience, so that the walk-out does not act quite so adversely on the Soviets as might be expected. But the more important point is that whatever propaganda effect arises from the incident is more likely to favour the Russian side than to damage it in other parts of the world. Mr. Nehru is far from being the only leader of an uncommitted country who thinks that more nations than the ten at Geneva should be taking part in such vital discussions as on disarmament; and even among the smaller countries firmly aligned with the West there is more than one to share this opinion.

Marshal Tito, too, is bound to welcome the new development, and even China may well look on it as a sort of counter-compliment for her last week's solidarity declaration with Moscow.

## FOULNESS PRISONERS

SUPPORTERS of the Foulness prisoners paraded through London's West End on June 18 and distributed 3,000 leaflets to the crowds of passers-by. The leaflet headed "Six Months in Prison" and "Why Non-violent Resistance?" gives details of the direct action demonstration to take place at Finningley on July 30.

The next London demonstration will be on Saturday, July 16.

## LABOUR AND 'DEFENCE'

The new policy statement is discussed in J. Allen Skinner's Commentary  
page four

## 'NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE'

Professor Hugh Seton-Watson's new book is reviewed by Geoffrey Carnall  
page six

## U.S. PUBLIC OPINION

Jim Peck looks at recent surveys on military training and race relations  
page eight

## THE PRIVILEGED CHURCH

A review of Pastor Trocmé's 1960 Alex Wood Memorial Lecture  
page six

## MICHAEL RANDLE

A Peace News profile on his return to Ghana to help organise a training centre for non-violent action  
page seven

## FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

on the independence of the Mali Federation and the Congo  
page two

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## Awaiting court martial

The following morning he refused to accept a uniform from the clothing store. He repeated his refusal in front of a sergeant and three corporals and was marched off to the Commanding Officer. After the interview he telephoned *Peace News* the details of the conversation:

*What's all this nonsense about?*

*I refuse, as a conscientious objector, to wear uniform.*

*Have you been registered as a CO?*

*No.*

*I will give you till nine o'clock tomorrow morning to think this over.*

*The answer will be the same then.*

*Get out of here and let's have no more of this \* \* \* nonsense!*

At 9.45 a.m. next morning he was ushered into the office of the Commanding Officer and in front of witnesses he repeated his refusal. He was arrested and now awaits court martial.

Geoffrey Hutchinson left Swanwick Grammar School in 1955 to study chemistry at Bristol University. From 1958-60 he studied part-time whilst teaching in Hull.

## Fylingdale protest

A PROTEST march, organised by the Yorkshire Region of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, is to leave Fylingdale at 9.30 a.m. this Sunday (July 3) and finish in Scarborough. People marching half way may join the march at Cloughton at 12.30 p.m.

In Scarborough other demonstrators will join the marchers at 2.30 p.m. at the Floral Hall corner of the North Promenade and march to Castle Dykes where speakers will address a mass rally.

The "Operation Foulness" banner will be carried on the march.



Geoffrey Hutchinson, the Aldermaston marcher, who makes his protest among soldiers.

Yorks. On leaving for camp he was still awaiting his final exam. results.

He registered for military service in 1955 but obtained deferment to study. Whilst at university he attended a meeting in Bristol addressed by Dr. Donald Soper and organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Shortly afterwards he met a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. He too became a member. In his final year he helped to organise an FoR group at the University.

## Protest among soldiers

In 1957 he wrote to the Ministry of Labour changing his registration to that of conscientious objector. In the letter he stated: "As a member of the Anglican Church I believe that the use of force in settling conflict is not compatible with Christ's teaching."

He was called to a Ministry of Labour tribunal in November, 1959, but did not attend. His case was dismissed.

In Derby last week I asked him why he had not appealed and made use of the tribunal system. He explained:

**"I want to make my protest among soldiers—among men of my own age."**

On receiving notice to report for duty to the barracks he wrote to the Camp Commandant explaining that he would refuse to obey orders on arrival. He returned 4s. of the "Queen's money" which, he said, he could not accept. He received no reply.

At his court martial he will ask for a sentence of over three months in order to claim the right to go before a civilian tribunal and claim exemption from military service.



# CLASSIFIED

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## MEETINGS

CONCERT by Gyor Choir (Hungary) with guest artists Robin Hall and Jimmie MacGregor, Shirley Bland and Leon Rosseton. Sunday, July 10, at 6 p.m. at Cecil Sharpe House, N.W.1. Tickets 3s. from British Hungarian Friendship Society, 136a Westbourne Terrace, London, W.2. (Pad. 3471.)

"THE QUAKER RESPONSE TO HUMAN NEEDS." Speaker: Roger C. Wilson. Sunday, July 3, at 6.30 p.m. Friends' House, Euston Rd., N.W.1. Everybody welcome.

## HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

HOTEL BOATS OFFER the only horse-drawn boat holiday. 3d. stamp for details to The Watch House, Stretford, Manchester. Prices from 6 guineas, according to route and period.

KESWICK—Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort, friendly atmosphere. Write Mr. and Mrs. Lusby (V.C.A. Members) Tel. 508.

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## PERSONAL

ATTENTION ABSTAINERS. Motor insurance company insuring abstainers only, offers amazingly low rates. Up to 50 per cent N.C.B. Details from Temperance Brokers, MORRIS HUNTER (PN), 33, Victoria Avenue, Southend-on-Sea, Essex.

DUPLICATING, verbatim shorthand, typing (tapes, etc.), translating. Mabel Eyles, 10 Beaconsfield Road, London, N.11. ENTERPRISE 3324.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

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WAR RESISTERS INTERNATIONAL welcomes gifts of foreign stamps. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middlesex.

## LITERATURE

A KEY TO THE RIDDLE OF FRENCH CANADA. Pierre Laporte, "The True Face of Duplessis." The first critical biography of French Canada's man of power. A Readers' Club of Canada July selection. Paper 11s., cloth 25s. Published by Harvest House, Ltd., Box 340, Postal Station Westmount, Montreal 6, P.Q. Enclose cheque or money order.

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THE BAPTIST PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP invites your support. For details of membership write: Rev. Leslie Worsnip, 63, Loughborough Rd., Quorn,

# TWO PATHS TO INDEPENDENCE

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

GREETINGS to the Mali Federation, which became independent last week! Greetings to the Congo, Somalia and Madagasca, which became independent this week! Greetings to the new Republic of Ghana, which will be inaugurated this week-end! Thus Africa is transformed.

Mali and the Congo symbolise the extremes of African change. The independence of the Federation is the result of a long, orderly development without any frontal attack on the previous colonial Power, France. The independence of the Congo is sudden, without planned political preparation, and arising, in the first instance, from a violent clash with the Belgian authorities. These different origins will inevitably colour immediate events, though within a decade one may expect little difference in the pattern of the two states.

Consider the story of the evolution of Senegal and French Sudan which form the Mali Federation. First, as a part of French Equatorial Africa, they were politically integrated with France. Then, when President de Gaulle formed his French Community, they became self-governing internally. Fifteen months ago they decided to federate. Now they attain independence.

Their political leaders have assimilated much French culture. I knew Leopold Senghor, the President, many years ago in Paris. He was characteristically French—gay, a poet, a politician. I remember a day of intense debate at a socialist conference. Then we went to a night club. The African orchestra was playing one of Senghor's songs.

## African entente

The other leaders are French as well as African in their mould of thinking. Lively Modibo Keita, the Federal Prime Minister from Sudan; M. Mamadouia, Senegal's socialist economist, the Deputy Prime Minister; Madeira Keita, Sudan's Leftist Minister of the Interior; Doudou Thiam, Senegal's conscientious Minister of Finance; Tidjani Traore, the capable Federal Minister of Information. All these are French trained politicians.

They will make economic treaties with

Not that the course of the Congo will be easy. The difficulties Patrice Lumumba had in forming his new Government illustrate the clash between tribal and national loyalties which are deep-rooted. A constitution will be needed which gives a satisfying autonomy to the large and self-conscious African communities held together by Belgian forces but now liberated to work out a basis of association by agreement.

The preliminary success of Patrice Lumumba in overcoming the opposition of Joseph Kasavubu and the Bakongo tribesmen, on the one hand, and the tribalist Conakrat Party in Katanga, on the other, and in uniting practically all elements in the National Government is a good augury; but the coalition is uneasy and we must expect further clashes, perhaps at an early point, certainly as the constitution is constructed.

## Success or failure

Much better, however, that the African peoples of the Congo should work through these problems themselves than that they should be frustrated by artificial relationships imposed on them by an alien dictatorship. One hopes that the leaders of all the parties will recognise that they have a great responsibility to all Africa in establishing a plan of harmony. A large part of the world will decide the issue of independence with speed by the success or failure of the Congo.

Patrice Lumumba illustrates in himself African ability to take responsibility despite absence of experience in legislatures or governments. He is young, only 34, slim, tall, little moustache, goatee beard; his eyes are determined, his dedication is indicated

in gestures, he smiles, his speech reflects quick intelligence. Background: born in a village of mud huts, primary school, teachers' training college. The school was Protestant, the college Catholic: noting their antagonism, he became a free thinker. Clerk in a tax office, assistant postmaster.

## Imprisoned hero

The first time he spoke for his fellows was as president of the staff association; he was eloquent and showed challenging initiative. Moved to Leopoldville, the capital, in 1957, seeking greater independence. Became commercial director of a brewery—and formed the Congo-National Movement, appealing to the working population, irrespective of tribe. The Belgians courted him, inviting him to Brussels. Returned via the Accra All-African Congress. Back at Stanleyville, riots. Imprisoned: released after a fortnight with the prestige of a hero. Now Prime Minister with the support of 117 of the 137 members of the newly-elected Legislature. Three years ago he was a postal employee!

The Prime Minister's colleagues are of mixed political views and tribal backings. Only two of them have had University education. They've come together under the immediate inspiration of their country's independence. It may be difficult to keep them together. But Lumumba has the philosophical temperament; he keeps calm and good tempered when around him emotions flare. He may do it. All of us wish him well.

And Ghana's Republic. If I can find a place on a plane I will be in Accra to join in celebrating it. My next article should be written on the significance of the Republic.

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Wednesday, July 6

LONDON, E.10: 8 p.m. Hackney Marshes. Civil Defence Exercise. CND supporters asked to contact Regional Officer, E.P.R.





Duplessis." The first critical biography of French Canada's man of power. A Readers' Club of Canada July selection. Paper 11s., cloth 25s. Published by Harvest House, Ltd., Box 340, Postal Station Westmount, Montreal 6, P.Q. Enclose cheque or money order.

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**THE FELLOWSHIP of Reconciliation** requires a Field Officer to gather support within the age range of 16-23 for its work. The appointment will be for a period of up to two years, and will require regular travelling. Applications in writing with full details to the General Secretary, For, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1.

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They will make economic treaties with France, perhaps defence treaties. They will seek to build an African entente with the other independent states emerging from French West and Equatorial Africa, extending perhaps to Togoland and the Cameroons.

This grouping will not associate easily at first with the Pan-Africanism which is sweeping over the rest of the Continent. France is not popular in Africa because of the Algerian war, and because the States within the French sphere, except for Guinea, have put the brake on the drive to independence and the full expression of the African "personality." Time will heal these differences.

The story of the Congo is the opposite. The Belgians excluded the African people from government and administration. Only in the last few years was there a beginning of democracy even in local affairs. The irresistible claim for independence seemed to come overnight. Wisely the Belgians read the writing on the wall.

From across the borders of his dictatorship in Central Africa Sir Roy Welensky has denounced Belgium's "bailing out" as a political swindle, but the consequences of resistance to independence would have been far worse. Violence, repression, hatred would have mounted. Finally, the Belgians would have had to flee the country. As it is, the new African Prime Minister has promised the Belgian residents security and invited them to stay.

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Wednesday, July 6

LONDON, E.10: 8 p.m. Hackney Marshes. Civil Defence Exercise. CND supporters asked to contact Regional Office—TER 9284.

Thursday, July 7

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, off Victoria St. Study Group Two: "Economics and Disarmament." CND London Region.  
London, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Laurence Allen: "A Visit to Spain with Pictures." PPU.

Saturday, July 9

BIRMINGHAM: 3-5.30 p.m. Birmingham International Centre, John Bright St., opp. Alexandra Theatre. Films for Peace. Birmingham Joint Pacifist Committee.

SWINHOE, Bucks: 3.15 p.m. Garden Party. Harry Minter: "Peace Begins with Us." United Counties' 16" bus from Aylesbury. Tring. Euton. Dunstable, through Ivinghoe Church. Asst. for Mrs. Banfield's House, 2 mins. S. Bucks. PPU.

Sunday, July 10

LONDON, N.1: 3.30 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd. F. H. Amphlett, Micklewright: "Havlock Ellis." Universal Religion Pacifist Fellowship.

Monday, July 11

RUGBY: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse. Youth Forum: "It's Our Future." Chairman: Raymond Rowse. Rugby PPU.

Friday, July 15

BRISTOL: 7.30 p.m. 58 Archfield Rd., Cotham 6. Owen Brown: "Presenting Pacifism to the General Public." Bristol PPU.

## Every week!

### SATURDAYS

LONDON, W.11: Portobello or Golborne Rd. Peace Bookstall in Market, 10 a.m.-5 p.m. Helpers for two hours shifts are needed. Apply to Secretary, BAY 2086, or Organiser, FLA 7906. Portchester PPU.

### SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8.15 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd. Open-air meeting.

LONDON, N.W.3: 11.30 a.m. Whitestone Pond. Open Air Meeting. Hampstead CND.

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 72, Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS.

### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m. 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11 Group PPU.

## DIARY

Friday, July 1

LONDON, N.W.1: 5.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Euston Rd. Study Group Three: "Education for Peace." CND London Region.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Euston Rd. Study Group Four: "Non-Violent Resistance." CND London Region.

LONDON, N.W.1: 7.30 p.m. 72 Oakley Sq. "Voluntary Organisations in the Welfare State." Frank Judd. IVS.

Saturday, July 2

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. Midland Institute (Cinema Rm.) Paradise St. Public Debate: "That Britain should renounce forthwith nuclear protection with all this entails." CND.

BRIGHTON: 12.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Ship St. Garden Party and Fair. CND.

ENFIELD: 3 p.m. Garden Party at 42 Uplands Park Rd., off Slades Hill. Bring & Buy Stalls, proceeds to Peace News.

LEEDS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Hse., Carlton Hill. Dance. Leeds Young Friends.

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m. 33 Sports Rd., Glenfield Group Meeting. PPU.

LONDON, N.13: 3 p.m. Fox Lane Congregational Church. For Reunion. Rev. W. A. Macdonald, Rev. Keith Fisher, Anita Hicks. For.

YORK: 3 p.m. Co-op. Lecture Hall, Room 11, Railway St. Yorkshire Area PPU.

Sunday, July 3

FYLINGDALE: 9.30 a.m., token march. Fylingdale to Cloughton. 2.30 p.m., Scarborough march assembles Floral Hall, Nth Promenade. Open air mtg. Castle Dykes. CND.

LONDON, E.11: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Bush Road. Garden Meeting. Stuart Morris: East and West Germany. Short concert after tea. Leytonstone PPU.

Monday, July 4

EDINBURGH: 10.15 a.m. Courtroom 5, Parliament Ho., 11 Parliament Sq. Appellate Tribunal for Consociations Officers.

LONDON, W.2: 7.45 p.m. 16, Westbourne Park Road (Porchester Rd. end). "Migration, Integration and You." Speaker, Eddie Burke (Immigration Officer for High Commissioner, West Indies). Porchester PPU.

Tuesday, July 5

LONDON, S.W.1: 7.30 p.m. Caxton Hall, off Victoria St. Study Group Five: "The Future of the Movement." CND London Region.

LONDON, S.W.14: 8 p.m. Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., East Sheen. Stuart Morris: "Total Disarmament." Members and Friends. Richmond PPU.



By Sybil Morrison

## FLUCTUATING PRINCIPLES

"... unilateral disarmament would leave women and children at an enemy's mercy whether nuclear or conventional weapons were used against us..."—The Venerable O. H. Gibbs-Smith, Archdeacon of London. St. Paul's Cathedral, June 26, 1960.

SO once again "women and children" are made the excuse and justification for an evil act. Not only is it extremely irritating to women to be constantly equated with children, but it is also known to them how completely untrue it is to imply, let alone state, that they are protected by means of war.

In the last war while soldiers were lying in their "slit" trenches, sailors fighting their way through treacherous seas, pilots bombing the homes and factories of the enemy, under the impression that they were fighting to protect their "women and children," those same women and children were under relentless bombardment from the air, and there was nothing at all that their husbands, or fathers, or sons in the "fighting line" could do about it.

It is not women and children alone whose lives are threatened; it is equally men, old or young, well or ill, who are part of the target of any major war. These cliché-ridden, ill-considered remarks come strangely from a dignitary of the Christian Church since he seems to be stating that there is a choice between a merciless enemy and the protection of certain human beings by the means of war; it should be fairly clear by now that if there is a choice at all it is not this, since total destruction can scarcely be called protection.

The Archdeacon, having expressed his concern for women and children, went on to state that Britain's retention of "the nuclear deterrent is not contrary to Christian principles in the world's present state." If Christian principles are to be subject to fluctuation according to the state of the world, some very awkward precedents might be established. Interpretations may often be different, but principles must surely be basic, or not be principles.

## U.S. CAMPAIGN AGAINST POLARIS SUBMARINES

# Water-borne demonstrators at Yale-Harvard regatta

Peace News Correspondent

SOMETHING new was added to the classic Yale-Harvard regatta this year. Sailing among the many spectator-boats on the Thames estuary on June 18 was a jig-rigged sloop, a dory and a canoe—all bearing the slogan "End the Arms Race—Polaris Action."

Floating in the air—until a super-patriotic yachtsman shot it down—was a balloon bearing a similar slogan.

Circulating among spectators along the river bank was a group of us distributing leaflets, which were headed "Someone Always Wins The Boat Race, But No One Wins The Arms Race."

On one side of the estuary, in Groton, is the sprawling plant of General Dynamics Corp., where the Polaris submarines are manufactured. On the other side, in New London, is the naval base from which these "fish of death," as the leaflet describes them, are tried out.

The morning of the regatta, a group of pacifists arrived at Polaris Action headquarters in New London, completing a 125-mile, 8-day peace walk from New York City. The sloop "Satyagraha," manned by Scott Herrick and Joel Greenberg, sailed

into New London from down the South Atlantic coast. The dory "World Citizen" manned by Harry Purvis and a crew of four, proceeded up Long Island Sound to New London from the United Nations.

Prior to the regatta, which does not take place until early evening, a vigil was held at the submarine base and a picket demonstration was conducted at the General Dynamics plant.

Those of us who picketed were countered by considerable hostility and violence from the workers and the storekeepers in the vicinity. At the change of shifts, a mob spirit swept the area. Our signs were ripped off their sticks and some of us were assaulted. Our demonstration was viewed as a threat to the prevailing prosperity, which is dependent on the big war plant.

At the submarine base the vigilers were unmolested. Navy personnel had been ordered to shun them completely.

About 100 pacifists and their families took part in this first eventful day of Polaris Action. The project, with headquarters in New London, will continue throughout the summer.

## Police dogs out at Labour rally

By DENZIL WEBB

WHEN HUGH GAITSKELL addressed a Labour Women's rally at Durham recently the police were out in force, and several of them led Alsatian dogs as they patrolled the open-air meeting.

Why all the fuss? Word had gone ahead that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was planning a picket. The CND duly appeared, no more than 15 strong, and ringed the amphitheatre, holding aloft placards and "lollipop" symbols. They were outnumbered by police by at least two

PEACE NEWS, July 1, 1960—3

## What frightened Napoleon

NAPOLEON certainly had the right idea about the function of the press. He said: "Four hostile newspapers are more to be feared than a thousand bayonets."

That works out at 250 bayonets-worth of frightening power per newspaper. At that rate you might estimate that it would need about half a million newspapers to give a government one H-bomb's worth of jitters.

But that of course is not the way to look at it. What Napoleon meant was that in certain circumstances the pen could be mightier than the bayonet, and that an opposition press could do more damage to a government's foreign policy than the threat of the enemy's weapons. And considering how few people could read in those days, that was a remarkable admission.

I don't know how many anti-government papers it would need today to upset a government's foreign policy, but I do know there are precious few of them.

All the more reason then why this paper should increase its influence. It took a lot to frighten Napoleon. It shouldn't take much to influence a government which cannot even explain what it wants its weapons for.

So let's do our best to live up to Napoleon's high opinion of us.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Contributions since June 17: £33 8s. 1d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £591 5s. 11d.

Still needed: £1,909.

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Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

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there is a choice between a merciless enemy and the protection of certain human beings by the means of war; it should be fairly clear by now that if there is a choice at all it is not this, since total destruction can scarcely be called protection.

The Archdeacon, having expressed his concern for women and children, went on to state that Britain's retention of "the nuclear deterrent is not contrary to Christian principles in the world's present state." If Christian principles are to be subject to fluctuation according to the state of the world, some very awkward precedents might be established. Interpretations may often be different, but principles must surely be basic, or not be principles.

★ The doctrines of love, not hate; of good, not evil; of brotherhood, not enmity, are basic principles; the possibility of destroying all mankind, even if only in a threat, cannot be anything but totally incompatible with those principles.

The use of the words "nuclear deterrent" instead of "the means with which to destroy the human race" is nothing but a piece of escapism, if not something worse. To say that possession of such means is a guarantee against their use cannot absolve those who indulge in such word-twisting. Obviously, if they are never to be used and it is fully understood that they never will be used, there could be nothing against discarding them here and now; it is the will and the intention to use them that constitutes the threat.

The Archdeacon is against unilateral disarmament either nuclear or conventional on the grounds that it is "quite unrealistic to say that if Britain gave a lead in disarming unilaterally other countries would follow." I do not know who has, in fact, asserted that they would, but the choice for pacifists, and surely also for Christians, does not depend upon what other countries would do, but upon what is believed to be right. That a revolutionary change in the whole motive of foreign policy would follow upon such a courageous step by Britain is almost certain, but any opinion as to the consequences is not the criterion upon which the decision to do so would be based.

It is the evil of war that has brought nuclear weapons into existence; to insist on maintaining that evil until others have discarded it has nothing to do with principles, Christian or otherwise, and may well be mistaken as an expedient.

The Archdeacon of London may think it right and Christian to use the threat of these monstrous and immoral weapons on the grounds of protecting "women and children," but it is to be hoped that women, as well as men, will repudiate his feeble and invalid excuses with an emphatic and ringing No.

## Another C.D. rate refusal

JOHN SCORE, Poole, Dorset, supporter of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, has refused to pay the proportion of his rates that is spent on Civil Defence.

He told Poole Council that he will only pay his half-yearly contribution of 1s. 1d. "under the most vigorous protest." He told the *Poole and Dorset Herald* on June 7, "They will have to take me to court before I pay."

In a statement to the press he explained, "I am unlike other public services, Civil Defence is quite incapable of carrying out the commitments for which it was established within the context of nuclear attack." Describing Civil Defence as a "farce," he stated that current Civil Defence literature refers to nuclear attack by one single two-megaton bomb, whereas in fact such an attack would involve 10 or a dozen 10 or 15 megaton bombs . . . sufficient to annihilate the population of Britain.

He continued: "Any doubts remaining as to the true purpose of the Civil Defence to lull the public into an entirely false sense of security is dispelled adequately by the use which is being made of the Women's Voluntary Service—the One in Five scheme—as a channel for Civil Defence propaganda of the most transparently misleading kind."

As John Score was making his rates refusal known Poole Labour Party announced that their delegate to the Labour Party Conference will put up a resolution that " . . . The Labour Party should . . . incorporate in their future policy a positive lead for peace and disarmament by renouncing the testing, production and stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the use of our country as an advanced base of the American Government."

## ANTI-WAR EXHIBITION

A German war resister, Willi Bobsin, of (24a) Lubeck, Stalhofweg 3i, West Germany, is preparing an International Anti-War Exhibition and would welcome pictures, war photos, war reports, army orders, speeches, posters, songs, poems, books, war souvenirs and other suitable material. Material will be returned if requested.

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Why all the fuss? Word had gone ahead that the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was planning a picket. The CND duly appeared, no more than 15 strong, and ringed the amphitheatre, holding aloft placards and "lollipop" symbols. They were outnumbered by police by at least two to one. Stewards and police alike went out of their way to be uncivil. A steward told me: "Be warned, any disturbance, and the police have been instructed to remove you." A woman police officer told a colleague: "Make a fuss, and we'll run you in."

These remarks, together with the presence of police dogs, made a mockery of the democracy that Gaitskell spent three-quarters of an hour ranting about. Demonstrators stood in silence.

## PPU TO BISHOP — FIND THE EVIDENCE

ON May 31 under the heading, "When Pacifism Does Not Mean Peace," *The Times* reported the Bishop of London as saying:

"To bury one's head in the sand may be the proper deportment of an ostrich: it is not the behaviour of a faithful soldier and servant of the Lord Jesus. Christians are, indeed, called to be peace-makers, but, in a turbulent world, pacifism does not in practice make for peace. I do not impugn the sincerity or good intentions of many of my friends and acquaintances in that movement, but I believe that their teaching is liable to have the very opposite effect to that which they desire. Indeed, it may all too easily precipitate war. There is, I think, evidence that this is what happened in 1939, when the activities of the Peace Pledge Union influenced Hitler in thinking that in no circumstances would this country intervene in a European war. I quote, again from Archbishop William Temple, that great peace-lover and peace-maker: 'Force has its place in resisting evil which force threatens to inflict.'"

Stuart Morris wrote a letter on behalf of

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## London to Moscow march

A EUROPEAN Nuclear Disarmament March Committee has been set up in London under the chairmanship of Francis Jude.

At its first meeting it had before it proposals from Sweden for a march next year from London to Moscow via a number of European capitals.

Inge Oskarsson, of the Swedish committee, is travelling to Paris, Berlin, Warsaw and Moscow for discussions in these cities.

the Peace Pledge Union to *The Times*, suggesting that it was unfair to prejudice pacifism by such an assertion unless there was reasonable evidence of its truth. The Editor of *The Times* was unable to find room for it.

He also wrote to the Bishop of London, saying that he knew that the assertion had been made before, but that no shred of evidence had ever been given for it. He therefore asked the Bishop to tell him what was the evidence he thought existed. The Bishop of London has replied as follows:

"I have given very careful thought to your letter of June 1, concerning my words at the Diocesan Conference and I am afraid I am not in a position to give the answer that I should wish. Perhaps I ought not to use the phrase that there is 'evidence' that Hitler thought that in no circumstances would this country intervene in a European war, but I have certainly gained that impression from the reading of many memoirs and autobiographies which have appeared, the most recent of which is that of the Life of Lord Derby. I am continuing my search into the matter, though it is not easy to find time to do it properly, and if I get any- thing more I will write to you again."



## Labour's policy

AS I anticipated in this column last month, the British Labour Party Executive has now committed itself to an armaments policy along Shinwell-Crossman-Wigg lines. Labour's policy in this field is now the same as that of the Liberals. The Conservatives with probably similarly revise their attitude somewhat later. In all this no fundamental re-thinking is involved on how to lead humanity away from the brink. It is merely an adjustment to the obvious limitations of Britain's economic capacity, accompanied by some transparent political manoeuvring aimed at the achievement of a spurious Party unity.

Whatever the trade unions may decide to do about the matter, this revised policy changes nothing in regard to the most important difference of view that divides Labour Party members on what the statement describes as "the acute dangers of the arms race and the precarious nature of the present balance of power." The Party will stand for the continued co-operation of Britain in NATO through the more effective utilisation of conventional arms, "leaving to the Americans the provision of the Western strategic deterrent."

It seems, however, that Mr. Gaitskell still has reservations on the matter. During the debate on the Defence White Paper in March he said that the amendment that Mr. Shinwell had desired to move carried with it "the clear implication that we should not have our own nuclear weapons," and he remarked that this would represent "a major change in the policy of our Party which I am not prepared to accept." Whether he is now prepared to accept it is obscured: the new statement may imply that for the next five years or so Britain will continue to be equipped with H-bombs and the means of "delivering" them. At a press conference to explain the new statement Mr. Gaitskell, as well as Mr. George Brown, made it clear that in their view the statement assumes that Britain should retain her V-bomber force and the H-bombs with which it is equipped for the period of years before these become completely out of date. Mr. Gaitskell may indeed be assuming that at the end of the five-year period it may be possible to equip the bombers with the Skybolt missile. His attitude would then be in line with his March statement.

The new statement, incidentally, contains the deliberately ambiguous comment on the Thor missile bases that "we continue to be opposed to the establishment of these missile bases in Britain." The bases are already established. A genuine and sincere pronouncement here would declare for their removal, but this is evaded.

## 'Reduction and control'

AS was also anticipated in my last column, the statement

## COMMENTARY

By

J. Allen Skinner

The discussions at the reopening of the Geneva Conference made evident the two major obstacles it was impossible to overcome: the resistance of the Russians to any attempt to deprive them of the advantage they get through the secrecy they are able to maintain regarding their military preparations; and the resistance of the Americans to any attempt to deprive them of the military advantages they get through the spreading of their bases over the world. In this regard Labour representatives would be confronted with precisely the same difficulties as are the Conservative representatives. The continued existence of NATO depends on the continued maintenance of these overseas bases.

There will be no advance to disarmament until one side or the other realises the necessity to initiate it through unilateral action. Any effective unilateral action by Britain will involve the rejection of NATO and its bases too.

## Negotiations on Algeria

AS these words are written representatives of the Algerians are in Paris to negotiate the terms upon which their leaders are to start the discussions they have been invited to by General de Gaulle. There can be little doubt that the French President has accepted the fact that it will be necessary for the discussions to cover a wider ground than the mere details of the cease fire. The sequel to these discussions will be likely to present the definitive testing time, not only for the future of Algeria but, even more certainly, for the future of France.

I find the most heartening news in this situation the report that the two great organisations of trade unionists in France, setting aside the important differences that separate them, have come together to make a common declaration on this subject. The *Confederation du Travail*, the organisation of Communist-orientated unions, and *Force Ouvrière*, the non-Communist grouping of the Left, have joined with the main student bodies and an important organisation of teachers (which incidentally has a Catholic leadership) to express their hopes in the outcome of the negotiations. They declare that these must allow for "a discussion of guarantees permitting a democratic consultation of the Algerian people." The statement goes on to declare that "the workers will exercise the necessary pressure to see that this is so."

This is the crux of the matter. The present dubious political constitution of France, and the

ments in the Command with a view to ensuring that Government policies shall not be based upon Army dictation, but it remains to be seen whether he has been successful. In this situation the key to a democratic outcome may lie with organised labour. If the French trade unions are serious in their recent declaration, they can be as successful in preventing an Army coup in France as were the German trade unionists in 1920 when by a general strike they scotched an attempt at a military coup led by Wolfgang Kapp and General von Lüttwitz.

## France's shame

IT is not only the possibility of peace in Algeria, not even only the future possibility of democratic freedom in France that depend upon the courage and self-assertion of the forces of liberal democracy there. Apart from the promise to Algeria's future and the threat to the future of France, the immediate necessity is to bring to an end the period of France's shame.

The bestial torture of human beings resorted to by Frenchmen in Algeria may still be practised today. We are not allowed to know. The fact that it has been practised, testified to by such differing bodies as the official Commission for the Safeguard of Individual Rights and Liberties, the International Red Cross, and by 35 young Catholic priests serving as Army officers in a report made to their bishops, has been covered up as much as possible by the repeated suppression of journals and newspapers that seek to give news of such things.

The circumstances of the recent trial of Henri Alleg (whose book, *LA QUESTION*, was an exposure of the tortures to which he was submitted after his arrest) for forming an illegal organisation to help the Algerians is felt to be, by everyone concerned with human rights, not a vindication of French justice, however much truth there is in the charges, but a demonstration of the depths to which French conceptions of political and juridical honour have fallen.

One aspect of the trial was the arraignment "in his absence" of Maurice Audin, whom everyone takes for granted was killed by parachutists after torture. Because Madame Audin came into court with the intention of asserting that he was absent because he had been murdered, the charge against him was hurriedly withdrawn on the grounds that dealing with it would prejudice the hearing of the case brought by Madame Audin charging persons unknown with the murder of her husband.

Now this case opened more than a year ago, but it has been sabotaged by the shamelessly deliberate dilatoriness that marks the examination of charges of torture brought against the army. In the case of the disappearance of Maurice Audin this has been particularly flagrant. Nobody has seen Audin since June, 1957. A political enquiry was opened in Algiers in the following month because of the allegations that had been made as to what had happened to him. The examining magistrate soon abandoned the enquiry on the grounds that there were no grounds for proceeding. Investigations were taken up, however, by a private committee of enquiry that included a number of distinguished university figures. These reported that they had discovered that Audin had been



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## 'Reduction and control'

AS was also anticipated in my last column, the statement puts a heavy emphasis on the need for general disarmament "as an immediate and urgent necessity." The policy here is in no sense different from that of the Government. The Labour Party declares for "the reduction and control of weapons and forces under international supervision" with the aim of "general and comprehensive controlled disarmament to levels to make war impossible." The Government and its Party also stand for precisely this, and there is not the slightest reason to assume that a Labour Government would be able to pursue it with any greater success. It is true that the Labour statement endorses the Rapacki plan. The Government is not committed to this for the very solid reason that the US Government will not accept it; and there is nothing to suggest that Labour could be any more successful in changing the US attitude.

I find the most interesting news in this situation the report that the two great organisations of trade unionists in France, setting aside the important differences that separate them, have come together to make a common declaration on this subject. The *Confederation du Travail*, the organisation of Communist-orientated unions, and *Force Ouvrière*, the non-Communist grouping of the Left, have joined with the main student bodies and an important organisation of teachers (which incidentally has a Catholic leadership) to express their hopes in the outcome of the negotiations. They declare that these must allow for "a discussion of guarantees permitting a democratic consultation of the Algerian people." The statement goes on to declare that "the workers will exercise the necessary pressure to see that this is so."

This is the crux of the matter. The present dubious political construction in France was brought about as a means of circumventing a plan for a coup d'état by the Algerian settlers, Fascist-minded politicians and the Army (by which is meant the Army Command and the officers). Since then General de Gaulle has been walking a political tight-rope, alternately making tentative advances to the position that the Algerian people should be permitted to decide their own destiny and then retreating in order to placate the political reactionaries and the Army officers. He has now reached a position where he cannot retreat without calamity for France.

That there will be resistance from the Algerian settlers to any liberal approach to Algerian freedom can be taken for granted. The unknown quantity is now the Army. General de Gaulle has been active in making replace-

charge against him was hurriedly withdrawn on the grounds that dealing with it would prejudice the hearing of the case brought by Madame Audin charging persons unknown with the murder of her husband.

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This statement said that the five officers—all of whom it named, including the man charged with the murder of Audin—had been punished by General Massu for their part in the business. One would have thought that there was plenty here that could have been settled one way or the other in less than a year by the court that is trying the case at Rennes, and that the testimony of General Massu would clearly be very pertinent. There has been no published statement from him on the subject, however; and equally there has been no action for criminal libel taken by the five men against the members of the private committee of enquiry.

## 'Don't Hang Eichmann'

VICTOR GOLLANCZ, the well-known publisher, socialist and pacifist, last week made a plea for the life of Adolf Eichmann, the former Nazi charged with atrocities against the Jews.

In a letter to *The Times* published on June 22 he wrote:

"'An eye for an eye' was an advance in the days of unmeasured vengeance. A far greater advance was made when we, the Jews, were enjoined to abrogate vengeance altogether, and to substitute mercy. Moreover, the more monstrous the wrong done to us, the more imperative, by a law of spiritual compensation, does mercy become. I pray that Eichmann may not be hanged."

## West German aid

PROFESSOR ERHARD, the West German Economics Minister, said in the Bundestag last week that aid to under-developed countries would eventually have to come directly from the Government and be administered through the budget.

This would entail a "structural alteration" in the country's finance. Observers view this as a further hint that a special tax will be imposed to provide the necessary funds.

## No summit that week

THE following news item appeared in *The Straits Times-Sunday Times* of Malaya on September 13, 1959:

"Honolulu: The Honolulu Star-Bulletin reported a top secret air force experimental jet plane, the U2, may be flying from Hawaii on 'reconnaissance at unreachable altitudes over Red China and Soviet Russia.'"

## 7½ years without trial

IN Kenya 478 detainees have been held without trial for more than one year—the longest period being since October, 1952.

# THIS IS YOUR WORLD

At the height of the Emergency 80,000 people were detained, the Colonial Secretary told the House of Commons on June 21.

## Spain's political prisoners

TWO petitions delivered to General Franco appealing for an amnesty for political prisoners in Spain and for Spanish exiles were delivered last Saturday.

One of the documents was signed by about 5,000 relatives of prisoners; the other by about 15,000 sympathisers and supporters.

The first document explained that previous petitions to lower civil and military authorities had had no effect. The present statement is the first petition that has been made direct to Franco in 20 years.

The second document talks of political prisoners who have been separated from their homes for 12, 15 or 20 years. *The Times'* Madrid correspondent reported that it is estimated that the two petitions are made on behalf of more than 600 people.



Thirteen conscientious objectors to military service were in British prisons on June 1, Leslie Hale, MP, was told in a Parliamentary Written Answer on June 23.

The Nairobi Labour Commissioner has stated that the adult minimum wage in Kenya is 50 per cent below the level needed to maintain a family of two children, Stephen Swinger, MP, told the House of Commons on June 23.

Mr. Harold Watkinson, Minister of Defence, said on BBC TV on June 17: "You may stop one missile getting there, but it is not true to say there is a broad defence against the nuclear missile."



# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Japanese protest

THE contemporary troubles in Japan have been often referred to both on the BBC and in the Press as anti-American demonstrations made by left-wing students. May I, through your columns, contradict this statement?

My last visit to Japan was in 1958, but for 26 years I have been in close touch with the people there and have discussed public affairs with their business men, the religious leaders both Buddhist and Christian, villagers, university folk and statesmen.

Before the war when their militarists were burning up Chinese villages and developing their poisonous drug traffic throughout that country I withstood them face to face; and many Japanese citizens supported me courageously.

After the war, American authorities persuaded the Japanese Government to accept total and permanent disarmament as a clause in their new constitution. A year or two later I was in Japan again and found that the people had become proud of leading the way in safeguarding the human race from nuclear disaster; but one morning at breakfast my host opened his newspaper and read out the headline in a tone of anguish; dismay marked every face, for the news was that the disarmament clause was likely to be rescinded.

All over the country people roused each other to protest, to hold meetings, to organise themselves. Farmers, trade unionists, religious leaders, the newly enfranchised women and teachers, crowded to the rallies in halls and in the open air all over the country.

This activity has continued ever since. People know that the so-called security treaty with America would mean the denial of all they hoped for.

Not a mob of thoughtless hooligans but some of the best brains and the best people of the country are in resolute opposition to this treaty.—**MURIEL LESTER, 80 Ranmor Rd., Sheffield.**

## Dictatorship

**BRUCE ODSBUR** may well be right in his forecast (PN June 17) that "within a decade from now there will not be a democracy left on the continents of Asia and Africa," but this is no reason for equivocating in our attitude to dictatorship.

to them by the West, even if it means dictatorship."

If it were only the "machinery" for electing governments that disappeared or underwent radical change we might indeed accept the situation with a shrug, or even welcome it if it seemed to make for fuller participation by the people in the management of their own affairs. But dictatorship means arbitrary powers to curtail and eliminate individual freedom. Like war, it is an attack upon the individual and his rights and something upon which we cannot afford to equivocate or compromise. As David McReynolds pointed out in one of his recent PN articles, the pacifist stands first and foremost for human freedom; freedom is our goal, peace is our method.

While we have a duty to analyse and understand the social and political factors that make for dictatorship (or for war), we must always state our uncompromising opposition to attacks on human freedom wherever they occur. We can no more support a dictatorship that we feel has become a social inevitability than we can a war that we think unavoidable.

Odsbur points out that autocracy preceded democracy in every Western country. It did, but it did not come to an end as a result of the benevolence of the autocrats but because popular forces had become too powerful to be resisted. I would suggest that the "quality and intention of the dictator" that Odsbur talks about has little relevance and that what really counts is the strength of the social and political forces pulling in the direction of freedom. It is such forces that we who believe in non-violence should be looking for and encouraging, not dictatorships however benevolent and however well intentioned.—**MICHAEL RANDLE, Church Farm, Fletching, Uckfield, Sussex.**

## AFSC conference

RECENT events in Turkey, South Africa, Korea and Japan and the summit conference failure require that Americans make serious attempts to come to a better understanding of the world they live in.

The New England American Friends Service Committee's summer vacation institute, "The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs," is an opportunity to meet with people from many backgrounds who share common concerns about world political and

hike, swim, play tennis, sing, square dance and talk with a welcome sense of freedom from pressure. A supervised children's programme makes it possible for families to attend. For an illustrated leaflet and information on the low cost of this "vacation with a purpose," write "Avon-at-Winni," AFSC, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass.—**ROBERT A. LYON, Exec. Sec., American Friends Service Committee, 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, U.S.A.**

## Defence and employment

**MIKE ARTIS** (PN, May 27) seems very apprehensive about unemployment and seems to think it better to make arms than have "unemployment." Surely employment (labour of any kind) is simply a necessary evil to provide the means whereby to live. Why work for the sake of work?

When the incubus of arms production is finally thrown off in some future enlightened age we could reduce the working week to say 25 or even 20 hours and adjust matters so that the skills and the capital at present devoted to arms production (sheer waste) were just sufficient to satisfy peacetime requirements.

With automation and modern methods of production and the shedding of the burden of armaments there should be no need for anyone to have to work above two or three hours a day. This would give more leisure and time for cultural pursuits.

If the community can afford to pay men to produce arms (totally unnecessary in a civilised community) it can also afford to pay them for doing nothing, or at any rate just sufficient work to satisfy the needs of peacetime requirements, and a steady increase in the standard of living.

Any surplus could go to the aid of the under-developed countries.

We hear far too much about the perils of "unemployment." The upper classes who can live without working do not complain about "unemployment."—**WILFRED CALDWELL, 11 Rowland Rd., Leeds 11.**

## Fylingdale

**WILL** all PPU members who are going to the demonstration at Fylingdale on Sunday, July 3, join me in forming a PPU contingent which will indicate we are against all wars and all weapons.

We shall meet at Fylingdale and anyone not walking the whole of the way can join in at Cloughton.—**LEONARD BIRD, 1**

## South Africa's

## 'no apartheid' paper seized again

THE South African Post Office is holding 13,000 copies of the June 18 issue of *Contact*, the South African inter-racial weekly, edited by Patrick Duncan, son of a former Governor-General and an outspoken and courageous critic of apartheid.

The issue contains an extensive extract from *Peace News* of the interview with Mr. Peter Molotsi by PN correspondent Gene Sharp, also comments by Patrick Duncan on Major Mark Hussey's reply to a criticism in *Peace News* on apartheid in the South African Boy Scout movement.

There is a full front-page picture of Mr. Philip Kgosana, leader and spokesman of the Pan-Africanist Congress, who is now on trial. Articles inside include "South Africa is on Trial for Treason," by the Rev. Michael Scott, a Director of *Peace News*, and the complete speech by Alan Paton (author of *CRY THE BELOVED COUNTRY*) at the Sixth Congress of the SA Liberal Party.

Among the news items is one headed "Men vanish, leave no trace—taken to secret labour camps?" and giving the names of six Africans alleged to have disappeared from Cape Town after being arrested.

Some private subscribers have received their copies, and Mr. Duncan has told the *SA Daily News* that a further 2,000 copies are being distributed.

This is the second issue to be held by the Post Office: the other was dated April 16.

## Annual award

A TRAVEL voucher value £5 is to be awarded annually to the World Citizen under 30 years of age who has been most active in making the work of the Commonwealth of World Citizens widely known. It will be known as the MacKenzie Award in honour of Neil MacKenzie, a veteran anti-militarist and pioneer of the World Citizen movement, whose address is 13 Prince of Wales Terrace, London, W.8.



This activity has continued ever since. People know that the so-called security treaty with America would mean the denial of all they hoped for.

Not a mob of thoughtless hooligans but some of the best brains and the best people of the country are in resolute opposition to this treaty.—**MURIEL LESTER, 80 Ranmor Rd., Sheffield.**

## Dictatorship

**BRUCE ODSPUR** may well be right in his forecast (PN June 17) that "within a decade from now there will not be a democracy left on the continents of Asia and Africa," but this is no reason for equivocating in our attitude to dictatorship.

Perhaps Bruce Odspur did not intend to suggest that we should, but he seems to accept the prospect of dictatorial rule throughout Asia and Africa with remarkable equanimity, telling us that it need not distress us and that we "should not shake our heads dolefully . . . when ex-colonial countries scrap the machinery bequeathed

and however well intentioned.—**MICHAEL RANDLE, Church Farm, Fletching, Uckfield, Sussex.**

## AFSC conference

**RECENT** events in Turkey, South Africa, Korea and Japan and the summit conference failure require that Americans make serious attempts to come to a better understanding of the world they live in.

The New England American Friends Service Committee's summer vacation institute, "The Quaker Approach to Contemporary Affairs," is an opportunity to meet with people from many backgrounds who share common concerns about world political and social problems and a desire to act effectively to advance the goals of peace and justice.

At Lake Winnepesaukee, New Hampshire, from July 30 to August 6, leaders in the fields of education, race relations and international affairs will speak and take part in panel discussions. Among the resource leaders will be Dr. Remigiusz Bierzanek, member of the Polish Parliament and Professor of International Law at the University of Lodz; and Clarence Pickett, Quaker who has been active in relief and disarmament work for many years.

Participants will join daily small group discussions, make interesting new friends,

and may also be able to aid the aid of the under-developed countries.

We hear far too much about the perils of "unemployment." The upper classes who can live without working do not complain about "unemployment."—**WILFRED CALDWELL, 11 Rowland Rd., Leeds 11.**

## Fylingdale

**WILL** all PPU members who are going to the demonstration at Fylingdale on Sunday, July 3, join me in forming a PPU contingent which will indicate we are against all wars and all weapons.

We shall meet at Fylingdale and anyone not walking the whole of the way can join in at Cloughton.—**LEONARD BIRD, 1 Marine Drive, Hornsea, Yorks.**

## 'NUCLEAR POWER AND SOCIETY'

**A RESIDENTIAL** school on "Nuclear Power and Society" is to be held from July 30 to August 6 at Coleg Harlech, Merioneth, in Wales.

Speakers include Professor P. M. S. Blackett, MA, FRS, Professor J. Rotblat, the Rev. D. R. Thomas, pacifist and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporter from Merthyr Tydfil, lecturers from the University of Wales and others.

On Friday, August 5, at 4.45 p.m. Bertrand Russell, OM, FRS, will attend the school to lead a discussion and answer questions put by students.

Applications should be sent with an application fee of 10s. to The Secretary, Coleg Harlech, Harlech, Merioneth.

## Youth and peace

**WHEN** the first Ecomenical Youth Assembly in Europe takes place in Lausanne, Switzerland, this month, peace issues will be kept before the 1,700 delegates by a team from the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

## On TV

**DR. DONALD SOPER** will answer questions about the stand that he has taken on the Christian attitude to political affairs on BBC TV this Sunday (July 3). Questioning him will be a business man, an actor and a solicitor.

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## Annual award

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# FIGHTING PROFESSOR

By Geoffrey Carnall

**MOST** people who take an interest in international affairs have some kind of historical view into which they fit events as they hear about them. Some think mainly in terms of Communism, others of capitalist imperialists, others again of the advance of the coloured races.

Was the Japanese refusal to have the Eisenhower visit a triumph for Communism or "uncommittedness"? Is the independence of the Congo a lurch in the decline and fall of civilisation, or a step towards a world society based on mutual human solidarity? No doubt we ought to avoid answering these questions unless we know a good deal about local conditions. But we can't help making a provisional answer, and we generalise as best we can from our own knowledge, experience and prejudice.

Hugh Seton-Watson, Professor of Russian History in the University of London, has recently published his own assessment of the present direction of world history under the title of *NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE*.\* It looks as comprehensive as an advanced text-book, and the reader will find in it compressed accounts of conflicts in Brazil and Bulgaria, Vietnam and Venezuela. Pacifists will want to argue with much of what he says. Surely it is too simple to assert that war has been avoided not through the action of the UN but through the caution of the USA and USSR. Their caution has been one factor, but others include the influence of neutral states who knew that they would suffer in a world war as much as belligerents would. The analysis, also, of the UN Emergency Force as a device for ensuring the political victory of Egypt while saving a minimum of "face" for Britain and France, is much too simple. Part of the trouble is that Professor Seton-Watson just hasn't enough room to discuss these matters properly. But his judgments, right or wrong, faithfully reflect a certain outlook and temperament which is widespread and influential. It is this, rather than the judgments themselves, which I want to consider here.

## Partisanship



**Gunnar Myrdal—"A more effective defender of the West."**

modern world, the more so because he recognises the influence which these states of mind exert. He remarks that the volume of hatred, insults, and murder directed against the French and British in various parts of the world quite naturally produces the reactions of rage which found expression in the Suez adventure. He evidently feels some degree of sympathy with that rage, but also feels acutely the folly of Suez, not least for its contribution to the outcome of the Hungarian revolution.

are greatly extended. Myrdal points out that the development of human solidarity has always gone on in some such way as this. "Ideals and social conscience do play a considerable role, which should not be forgotten; but they are weak as self-propelled forces, originating reforms on a large scale—they need the pull of demands being raised and pressed for."

Myrdal's head is quite as hard as Seton-Watson's and he is equally unwilling to suffer fools gladly. But Myrdal has none of the subdued exasperation which informs so much of *NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE*. He is much more confident that the general direction of events is a tolerable one. There are great dangers, particularly if rich and poor involve themselves in a vicious circle of threats and hostility. But given a willingness to understand everyone's long-term interests, and to do the hard intellectual work which this requires, he sees his way through to a world society.

## Authority

Although Seton-Watson allows himself an occasional glance towards the distant prospect, he is much more preoccupied with the immediate struggle. No doubt he could argue that this is because he feels on his pulses the real desperateness of our condition. But Myrdal's comparative optimism does not spring from his ignoring the trends which make Seton-Watson pessimistic. It comes from his instinct to view conflict as a problem to be solved, not as something to be joined in. It is significant that his first important work was a massive study of the colour problem in the U.S.A., in which his main task was to feel his way into the emotions on both sides.

Whereas Seton-Watson is deeply disturbed by the widespread and increasing erosion of authority in modern democratic society, the unwillingness to pay deference to élites, Myrdal quietly takes up a position which makes deference or the lack of it

appear irrelevant to the central issues. We are in a situation with no close historical precedent, and claims to speak with authority cannot easily sound authentic. At the same time, useful criticism of old ways of thought is not a task for dilettanti and ignoramuses. "It is much easier," says Myrdal, "to be a conformist than a competent rebel."

## Strategy

Seton-Watson's combative temperament is a sign of his own inward insecurity rather than a mark of genuine realism. Just after the Suez crisis he was anxious that the Western Governments should press home their moral advantage in the Hungarian sector of the world conflict. They should have no more inhibitions about being beastly to the Soviet leaders than the Soviet leaders had about being beastly over Suez. In the widespread political earthquake of that time (every Power anxious that it might lose influence, and equally anxious, in compensation, to extend its influence in the confusion) Seton-Watson was one of those who wanted to keep the tremors going. He was afraid that Khrushchev might recover his nerve.

But is it really in our interest that Khrushchev should lose his nerve? Only a statesman in full possession of his faculties would have been likely to see the point of the constructive proposals which Seton-Watson supported then (and would support now if he saw any likelihood of their success)—Soviet withdrawal from Eastern Europe, in return for a neutralised Germany.

The fact that the Communist instinct is usually to intensify the struggle does not mean that non-Communists should follow their example. Even by strictly cold war standards, Myrdal strikes me as a more effective defender of the West than Seton-Watson.

# THE PRIVILEGED

By the Rev. R. Waters



others include the influence of neutral states who knew that they would suffer in a world war as much as belligerents would. The analysis, also, of the UN Emergency Force as a device for ensuring the political victory of Egypt while saving a minimum of "face" for Britain and France, is much too simple. Part of the trouble is that Professor Seton-Watson just hasn't enough room to discuss these matters properly. But his judgments, right or wrong, faithfully reflect a certain outlook and temperament which is widespread and influential. It is this, rather than the judgments themselves, which I want to consider here.

## Partisanship

Seton-Watson is a strong partisan of the "West" in its conflict with Communist states. But he insists that this does not prevent him from admitting Western errors and crimes, or from trying to be fair to the opponents of the West. This is a reasonable claim, and the present book is certainly on the side of the angels in many important current issues. But the fairness is sometimes only achieved by a strong effort of will. He acknowledges that Indian foreign policy, while it may on occasion run parallel with that of the Communist bloc, is not designed to further Communist interests. It is childish folly, he says, to scold India for not agreeing with Western policies. But for all that he clearly does not like the Nehru approach to international affairs, and his dislike vents itself in objections to the tone of Nehru's speeches—"moralising lectures directed always against the West" which have "infuriated millions of Europeans and Americans."

It isn't altogether clear what Seton-Watson means by "moralising" in this context, as he has no room for quotations. But there is a tone of Olympian detachment in Nehru's comments on world affairs which would offend Seton-Watson's keen partisanship. Moreover, I suspect that Nehru would feel no embarrassment in using the phrase "a change of heart," whereas it infuriates Seton-Watson. He has no patience with those who saw a change of heart in Russia after the death of Stalin. He is equally critical of South Americans who want US capitalists to have a change of heart and stop exploiting them. The remedy, he says, lies with the South American states themselves. Let them increase the variety of goods which they produce, and stop relying on a single product.

Seton-Watson is irritated by many of the states of mind that are characteristic of the

## Gunnar Myrdal—"A more effective defender of the West."

modern world, the more so because he recognises the influence which these states of mind exert. He remarks that the volume of hatred, insults, and murder directed against the French and British in various parts of the world quite naturally produces the reactions of rage which found expression in the Suez adventure. He evidently feels some degree of sympathy with that rage, but also feels acutely the folly of Suez, not least for its contribution to the outcome of the Hungarian revolution.

He discerns a similar conflict between emotion and reasonable conduct in the Asian and African desire to achieve rapid economic equality with Europe and America. Westerners, says Seton-Watson, will argue that these things came slowly in their own countries, and that they cannot in the nature of things come very quickly elsewhere. In rational argument, he goes on, "Asian or African intellectuals may admit that there is some truth in the Westerners' case, yet at a deeper irrational level the same men will hate the Westerners for not at once providing them with all that they themselves have."

## Rich and poor

It is clear that Seton-Watson also admits that there is some truth in the Asian and African case, and feels irritated that these poorer nations should forever be nagging at the richer ones. He suppresses the irritation, and the general attitude conveyed by his book is one of tightlipped stoical acceptance of the unavoidable evils of the world, coupled with an admirable but rather desperate determination to grapple with the avoidable ones.

This impression of thwarted energy contrasts strikingly with the temper of another book on current movements in the world which was published some time ago—Gunnar Myrdal's *ECONOMIC THEORY AND UNDER-DEVELOPED REGIONS*.\* Myrdal argues that the inequality of living standards in the world is the result of the weak bargaining power of the poorer countries. But the poor have one ultimate defence, that of making a nuisance of themselves, and in the nuclear age the opportunities for effective blackmail of the rich by the poor

that his first important work in the U.S.A., in which his main task was to feel his way into the emotions on both sides.

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# THE PRIVILEGED

By the Rev. R. Waters

Chairman, Walthamstow Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament group.

WE have many times been told that privilege involves us in responsibility.

Whatever privilege the Church may enjoy, the author of the 1960 Alex Wood Memorial Lecture places upon her a tremendous responsibility: "Will (the Church) make herself, courageously, without falsehood and without violence, the champion and friend of the oppressed? The future of Christian civilisation and the existence of the Church herself both depend on it."

Thus M. Trocmé concludes a thoughtful and forthright plea that the Church should forget some of her own worries, and enlarge her horizon to serve as a refuge for all the victims of oppression. Thus "she will become once again the daughter of her Founder as He appears in the pages of the Gospels."

It is fitting that such a plea should be made in World Refugee Year, but to regard this merely as an appeal for refugees is to miss the point. Christians, if there be any, who do not respond to the refugee appeal, are lacking in that quality of compassion both inspired and commanded by our Lord. But M. Trocmé's plea is that the Church shall re-appraise her position and her mission in the modern world, particularly in relation to privilege and oppression.

The difficulty is that the Church herself is compromised by her acceptance of privilege. In our civilisation she is a protected society. "Without realising it, the Church, while striving to remain neutral, is already, by virtue of the privileges she enjoys, on the side of the oppressor." The oppressed are so apt to resort to violence, pagan violence. From this the Church rightly recoils, but not from the oppressed who know not how else to oppose oppression.

"The Church should engage herself in the struggle against oppression." "It is not

enough to undertake their defence, to embark on more and more works of charity, or to exert influence in high places for their emancipation. She must identify herself with them."

"Do-gooders," however sincere, have been utterly rejected by modern youth. On the international scene colonial "do-gooders," sincere or purporting to be so, insofar as they are wanting to retain power, are on the way out. The modern varia-

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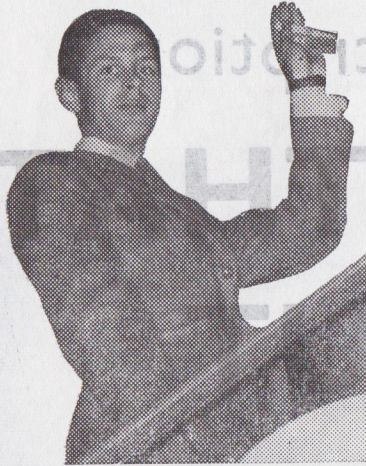
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## A PEACE NEWS PROFILE

By Margaret Tims

## Assignment in Ghana



**Assignment in Ghana for Michael Randle who is helping to organise a training centre for non-violent action and study.**

**N**OW in Ghana for the second time is 27-year-old Michael Randle, until recently Chairman of the Direct Action Committee Against Nuclear War.

His previous visit, last October, was to prepare for the Sahara protest against French nuclear tests. After the first French Bomb was exploded in February he remained in Ghana at the request of Dr. Nkrumah and the Rev Michael Scott to help in organising the Positive Action Conference that took place at Accra from April 7-10.

It was at this conference that the proposal was made for the establishment of a training centre in Ghana for the study of non-violent action—or, as it is referred to in Dr. Nkrumah's phrase, "positive action." Michael Randle is now back in

Ghana to discuss with the Prime Minister and Mr. Adamafio, General Secretary of the Convention People's Party, the actual setting up of such a centre. He will be working on this plan in association with the American Negro pacifist, Bill Sutherland, who is secretary to Ghana's Finance Minister, and who played an important part in the organisation of the Sahara protest.

Michael Randle is under no illusions as to the difficulties that may be encountered. His salary will be paid by the Ghana Government, and the fact that the positive action centre itself will be Government-sponsored might seem to imply approval of Government policies which in some circumstances could be an embarrassment.

He is also quite clear that the emphasis in training for non-violent action will be on African liberation rather than on anti-nuclear demonstrations; and that the current African interest in non-violence is largely, although not entirely, strategic. Nevertheless, the intention to go ahead with the training project is quite serious, and it is hoped to have the centre started in time for the country's independence celebrations in July.

It is doubtful if the British Government fully appreciates the honour being paid by the Prime Minister of another Commonwealth country to this young Englishman whose only qualification is his personal experience of "positive action" against his own Government's policies. This action started, in a sense, with his registration as a conscientious objector in 1952. His acceptance of a condition to do agricultural work in no way curtailed

his radical activities; farming in Sussex with his father (who was himself a war-time CO) was his regular job.

He was associated with the Non-violent Resistance Group almost from the time of its first demonstration outside the War Office in 1952 and took part later that year in its pioneer picket at Aldermaston which was the forerunner of the subsequent monster rallies.

The Direct Action Committee, as such, was formed in 1957 after Harold Steele's unsuccessful attempt to sail to Christmas Islands. After a year on *Peace News*'s sales staff, Michael Randle joined the Committee as a full-time worker, following his imprisonment in December 1958, for participating in the Swaffham rocket-base demonstration.

Although he does not regard "direct action" as a substitute for "conventional" pacifist activity, he feels that this more dramatic presentation has special value.

1. In getting publicity and so spreading the idea of non-violence.

2. In demonstrating the idea in a way that people can easily understand.

3. In presenting a moral challenge, e.g., to the workers on a rocket-base.

Michael Randle is not only against nuclear war: he is against violence as such, believing that the time has come when new methods must be tried and persevered with at whatever sacrifice; that even though the use of violence may sometimes seem to pay off in immediate

results, in the long run the most effective form of action, in terms of human relations, is non-violent; and that, although he no longer practises the Roman Catholic faith in which he was educated, the abjuration of violence is a matter of ethical principle. (This did not prevent him from playing Rugby for Brighton Town.)

To demonstrate this principle, he appealed for volunteers to go to Hungary at the time of the uprising in 1956; and when a team was not forthcoming, walked alone from Vienna to the Hungarian border with placards and leaflets calling on both sides to avoid violence. As he readily admits, this action was only a gesture, and made little or no impact. But it was a highly courageous gesture, and was certainly a valuable experience for himself.

Michael Randle does not know how long his new assignment will last: he may stay in Ghana six months, or it may be two years. He is willing to accept this uncertainty, as well as the uncertainty as to what his actual commitment will be in furthering the cause of non-violence which he puts before all other considerations.

Of one thing at any rate we can be sure: Michael Randle is the kind of Englishman—the new type of “settler”—whom Africans will always welcome to their country as a friend; and this alone, in the present state of racial antagonisms, is sufficient justification of his purpose, whatever else it may achieve.

# A CHILD'S SERMON

**By Keith Johnstone**

Keith Johnstone is a playwright attached to the Royal Court Theatre writers' group. He recently produced four short plays for the Campaign for Nuclear

*Disarmament's London Spring Fair.*

## The text

## Five boys who found a hedgehog in a

An American comic in which a man was spreadeagled and kept alive while bamboos grew through him.

# CHURCH

tions on the theme of oppression are well sketched by the author, and no amount of good work on the part of the Church will balance her involvement on one side or the other.



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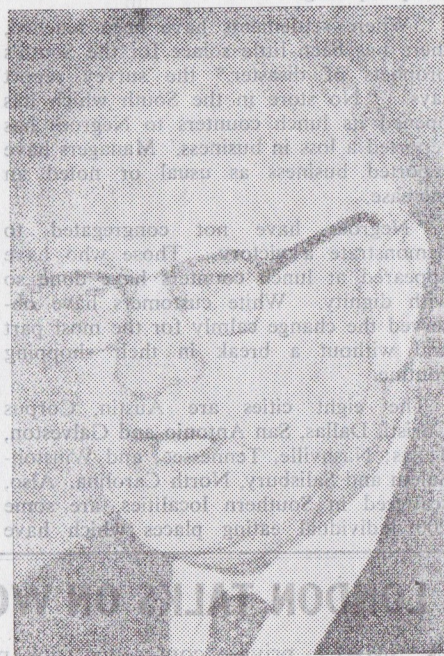
Native people are grasping responsibilities; they will work out their own privileges; out of their travail they will have gathered some impressions of the Christian Church.

This is a timely word implying criticism of the Church, but at the same time pointing the way forward, and it is a word from within the Church. It will be a great encouragement to many Christians like Trocmé's "over-zealous preacher who denounces the crimes of the oppressor from the pulpit." But this is a word of prophetic clarity for the whole Church, a Church troubled and perplexed about its involvement with violence.

The Pastor is quite right, the Church's involvement with oppression and with violence are bound up with one another. The former is her involvement with a way of life built on privilege, the defence of which depends upon the power to dominate, by violence if necessary. To give this up, to "espouse the cause of these oppressed people," would mean loss of privileges, influence, and affluence which the Church seems to be losing anyway.

It may mean oppression for the Church, and this appears to be Trocmé's meaning when he says: "She must identify herself with them (the oppressed)."

This identification according to the Pastor will mean on the one hand co-operation with and sharing the life of the oppressed, and on the other, direct action, strikes, protests, and non-co-operation, on behalf of the oppressed. He emphasises that the Church cannot go beyond the frontiers of truth and non-violence which "the God of the oppressed imposed upon Himself when



**"The Church should engage herself in the struggle against oppression."**

**—Pastor Trocmé, Chairman of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation.**

He renounced immediate effect in favour of a truly authentic action.

There are limits then to the Christian's identification of himself with the oppressed. There are, however, no limits to the Christian's identification of himself with Christ.

This is the great privilege of the Church, to be identified with Christ, who was Himself oppressed and never the oppressor. When the Church has been so identified she has been neither perplexed nor weak; indeed, she has never been more certain of her faith nor more commanding of men's loyalty.

Oppression, concomitant of privilege and violence, has, like them, no place in the Gospel proclaimed by Jesus of Nazareth.

## A CHILD'S SERMON

By Keith Johnstone

Keith Johnstone is a playwright attached to the Royal Court Theatre writers' group. He recently produced four short plays for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament's London Spring Fair.

### The text

Five boys who found a hedgehog in a field prodded it with a stick till it uncurred and covered it with dried grass which they set alight. Then they put fireworks under the hedgehog and in its mouth and exploded them, stoned it with bricks, beat it with sticks, and left it dead or dying with its mouth badly burned, its spines singed and both jaws broken.

"In 21 years on the Bench I have never heard of anything so brutal, bestial and inhuman," said Major D. M. Stanley, presiding. "It's the sort of thing one might have heard of a hundred years ago in some uncivilised country."

### The sermon

THE grown-ups represented themselves as honest and responsible citizens, concerned with justice and personal integrity.

They were fine upstanding men, in control of their actions, aware of their innermost motives. They didn't weep or lie or steal, and if we did those things we would have to learn to grow out of them—would be made to grow out of them.

Mind you, some grown-ups were monstrously wicked, but never Mum and Dad's friends, never anyone to do with us. And we believed it. In the middle of a war, with black marketeering going on all round, and everyone glorying in the money they were making, we still believed it. All the same, each of us knew that our own natures were different, were more savage.

Consider the things that interested us: A film in which a hot poker filled the screen and blinded someone.

A news-reel in which flame splashed and stuck to a Japanese soldier who ran, 30, 40 yards, crouching to protect his stomach—the camera panning with him.

An American comic in which a man was spreadeagled and kept alive while bamboos grew through him.

We never asked ourselves why we liked these things, but we all felt the same way about them. We passed pictures around at play-time and invented games. We were beheaded, crushed under tanks, impaled. Our bodies were torn open by bullets and we mimed the surprise of unexpected death. It must have looked odd to see the corpses rise laughing from our battlefields.

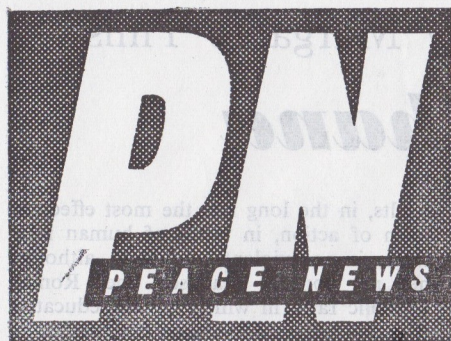
Not that the war did more than accentuate these feelings. They were innate in us. We would have all liked to torture kittens, or burn wasps in match-boxes—and if we didn't it was because we could restrain ourselves. I remember a frantic game which the elder boys started and which we all joined in. This was scrabbling up balls of mud, wrapping earthworms in them and hurling them at a wall. God knows why? I mean, we didn't examine them to see what happened or anything. It was just something we wanted to do.

We saw the Belsen news-reels—I'd have been about twelve at the time—the bulldozer heaving bodies into a pit and the driver being sick into his handkerchief. We read the news reports and identified with the participants, and we couldn't find one violence not latent in ourselves.

It wasn't the nakedness that excited us—it was the whips and the lamp-shades made of human skin—we were on home ground there all right. But the grown-ups were appalled and angry and full of hate. "It couldn't happen here," said our teacher, "because British Tommies wouldn't stand for it." And we publicly agreed, but, as I remember, a little half-heartedly, because supposing the British Tommies had been us? The grown-ups insisted that concentration camps were the crimes of beasts, but we were children, and we obviously hadn't become fully human yet.

Regional Council, an organisation of





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## Architect of A-bomb has 'misgivings'

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

"SMALL WORLD"—the BBC's television feature—comes twice next month from the Memorial Centre Hospital in New York, where Dr. Leo Szilard, one of the first architects of the atomic bomb, is undergoing treatment.

Dr. Szilard, a winner of the Atoms for Peace Prize, says that his purpose in life today is to "help dismantle the era of terror he helped to create."

Talking to him on Wednesdays July 6 and 13 will be **Dr. Edward Teller**, scientist and "Father of the H-bomb"; **Admiral Lewis L. Strauss**, former Chairman of the US Atomic Energy Commission; **Dr. Jerome B. Wiesner**, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Scientific Adviser to President Eisenhower; and **General John B. Medaris**, former head of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency.

The two-part programme will be introduced by Ed Murrow and the topics will include the philosophy of massive retaliation, disarmament, "the need for inspection and the need for testing."

It was Dr. Szilard who actually drafted the fateful Einstein letter to President Roosevelt and persuaded the renowned scientist to sign it. In it Einstein pointed out to the President (on August 2, 1939) the possibility of producing "extremely powerful bombs."

HIROSHIMA

# U.S. youth and conscription THE TRUTH THAT LEAKED OUT

TWO very significant surveys have been made recently in the US. The first, showing young people's opposition to conscription, has been quashed by "certain people."

I learned this first-hand when I tried to get a copy from the Boys' Clubs of America, whose assistant director of programme services, John Scagnelli, inadvertently spoke on it at the organisation's recent convention. His speech was picked up by *The New York Times* which carried a brief story headed: "Draft Opposition Is Found In Youth."

The story revealed: "30 per cent of 1,000 teen-aged boys questioned 'in depth' during a two-year survey period voiced strong opinions against being drafted into the armed forces. Some boys said: 'I will not be drafted.' Among the remaining youths interviewed, half said they wanted to enlist, the other half said a little hopefully that if they had to go into the service they would."

### Officials embarrassed

*The New York Times* concluded by quoting Scagnelli, apologetically, to the effect that "he did not know how youths so strongly opposed to serving in the armed services expected to avoid it," and that "their negative attitude indicated an 'unrealistic' outlook to a 'complete lack of understanding of the requirements for military service.'"

When I telephoned the Boys' Clubs to request a copy of the survey, I encountered considerable embarrassment on the part of the organisation's officials. Edward Stapleton, director of public information, referred me to Scagnelli who said that no policy had yet been adopted on making the survey

## Jim Peck's Letter from America



Negroes at a lunch counter sit-in. No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business.

southern liberals, predominantly Whites, it shows that stores in eight cities where city-wide lunch counter desegregation has taken place since the start of the student sit-ins, are prospering.

"Where settlements have been reached, there has been little solace for the South's prophets of disaster," the survey report says. "No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase.

opened their lunch counters to all in recent months without any ill effects business-wise.

The Southern Regional Council survey bears out two recent experiences of my own as a negotiator for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). In Nashville, one of the eight cities involved in the survey, Grant's, a variety chain store, had held out after the city-wide settlement was reached. I wrote a protest letter to the secretary of the company with whom I had negotiated after the sit-ins started. A month later he notified me that on the basis of the other Nashville's stores' experience with desegregation,



General John B. Medaris, former head of the Army Ballistic Missile Agency.

The two-part programme will be introduced by Ed Murrer and the topics will include the philosophy of massive retaliation, disarmament, "the need for inspection and the need for testing."

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## HIROSHIMA

Now Dr. Szilard says of the A-bomb: "I don't know . . . I have had my misgivings . . . I can remember saying at some point that I had helped to bring a black day to mankind . . . that the world was headed for sorrow . . . and yet, under the circumstances—the fear that the Nazis might beat us to the Bomb—did we have any other choice? . . . But Hiroshima . . . I'll never be convinced that this was necessary. . ."

In a memorandum prepared for President Roosevelt in the spring of 1945 (when the first atomic bomb had not yet even been tested) Dr. Szilard foresaw: "This Bomb will be much less powerful than the ones we now know could be made and, in all likelihood, will be made later; yet the first Bomb that is detonated over Japan will be spectacular enough to start a race in atomic armaments between us and other nations."

With the late Dr. Enrico Fermi, Dr. Szilard produced the chain reaction that led to the atomic bomb. (The US patent for the chain reaction is registered jointly in their names.)

Asked recently if he foresaw "an even more ultimate weapon," he replied: "The atomic and hydrogen bombs are quite ultimate enough."

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The *New York Times* concluded by quoting Scagnelli, apologetically, to the effect that "he did not know how youths so strongly opposed to serving in the armed services expected to avoid it," and that "their negative attitude indicated an 'unrealistic' outlook to a 'complete lack of understanding of the requirements for military service.'"

When I telephoned the Boys' Clubs to request a copy of the survey, I encountered considerable embarrassment on the part of the organisation's officials. Edward Stapleton, director of public information, referred me to Scagnelli who said that no policy had yet been adopted on making the survey available for study and that "certain people" would have to be consulted first.

Referring to *The New York Times* story, he deplored its emphasis and asserted that this is just one aspect of the report. He then referred me back to Stapleton, whose line was busy. When I finally got through to him, he told me he had been engaged in an inter-office call to Scagnelli and proceeded to repeat, more or less, what Scagnelli had said.

## Wants fact suppressed

I again called Scagnelli, who promised to call me back after consulting with the "certain people." He phoned the following day to say that the report is not available at this time, that more work has to be done on it, and that it probably will not be completed for several months.

The survey was made by the Grant Foundation in co-operation with the Centre for Social Research of the University of Michigan at a cost of \$50,000.

The conclusion is inescapable that the "certain people" opposed to making the report available want to suppress the plain fact that conscription is not favoured by the American youths who have to submit to it. Most vocal of these "certain people," I would judge, would be connected with the Pentagon or the American Legion, which must keep a close watch on organisations like the Boys' Clubs. The Legion, biggest U.S. veterans organisation, was in the vanguard of the campaign to enact the first peacetime draft law in 1948 and has pressed for its extension prior to each expiration date.

The second survey of importance was ignored by newspapers in the South but not in the North. Issued by the Southern Regional Council, an organisation of

opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business.

southern liberals, predominantly Whites, it shows that stores in eight cities where city-wide lunch counter desegregation has taken place since the start of the student sit-ins, are prospering.

"Where settlements have been reached, there has been little solace for the South's prophets of disaster," the survey report says. "No store in the South which has opened its lunch counters to Negroes has reported a loss in business. Managers have reported business as usual or noted an increase.

"Negroes have not congregated to demonstrate a victory. Those who have appeared at lunch counters have done so with dignity. White customers have observed the change calmly for the most part and without a break in their shopping routine.

The eight cities are Austin, Corpus Christi, Dallas, San Antonio and Galveston, Texas; Nashville, Tennessee; and Winston-Salem and Salisbury, North Carolina. Also, scattered in Southern localities, are some 200 individual eating places which have

opened their lunch counters to all in recent months without any ill effects business-wise.

The Southern Regional Council survey bears out two recent experiences of my own as a negotiator for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). In Nashville, one of the eight cities involved in the survey, Grant's, a variety chain store, had held out after the city-wide settlement was reached. I wrote a protest letter to the secretary of the company with whom I had negotiated after the sit-ins started. A month later he notified me that on the basis of the other Nashville's stores' experience with desegregation, Grant's had decided to follow suit.

On the day of the settlement in Galveston, another of the eight cities, I had talked with the head of store management of McCrory's, another variety chain store. He had voiced considerable apprehension particularly since the company operated the biggest lunch counter in Galveston. When I talked to him a month and a half later he expressed complete satisfaction with the outcome in Galveston and volunteered that he was also pleased regarding Nashville.

## LONDON TALKS ON WORLD N.D. CONFERENCE

A SMALL private conference took place last weekend at the Hotel Russell in London where a number of individuals from East and West and from the uncommitted countries met at the invitation of Canon L. John Collins.

The purpose of the meeting was to discover whether, following the breakdown of the summit, it might be possible to organise an international conference on disarmament, with special reference to nuclear disarmament, a CND, spokesman told *Peace News*.



A number of well-known figures in the international sphere attended, including Ilya Ehrenburg, the Russian writer; Ira Morris, the European Representative of the American Committee SANE; Professor Josue de Castro of Brazil, lately Chairman of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations; and J. B. Priestley.

There was a friendly and frank exchange of views on the possibility of organising a conference that would not be dominated by any particular organisation or political point of view. As a result of the talks it is now reasonable to hope that such a conference may be arranged, preferably under the auspices of some such organisation as the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

A resolution which would commit the Labour Party "to a policy for unilateral disarmament by Great Britain" has been selected by Dulwich Constituency for submission to the 1960 Labour Party Conference.

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# Breakdown at Wears but not uniform

## Geneva

By ROY SHERWOOD

REPORTING the Russian walk-out from the Geneva 10-nation disarmament conference on Monday, the American Forces Broadcasting Programme the same evening said that Western observers considered the resulting situation to be "touchy."

*The Times* in its leading article on Tuesday morning, though also taking a serious view, did not go half so far in pessimism. Most other British newspaper comment, with the *News Chronicle* angry enough to refer to the walk-out as an outrage, was in general agreement that the Russians had committed an enormous propaganda blunder.

This seems to me incorrect in every respect. The most important point about the walk-out, to my mind, is that it is fundamentally unimportant. I see it as a mainly tactical manoeuvre to force the disarmament discussions back into the United Nations where, the Russians may hope, the presence of delegates from many countries not represented at Geneva is likely to prove helpful to the Soviet proposals.

★

The contention voiced by the American representative at Geneva that the Russians "went there not to negotiate but to forestall negotiations" is surely arrant nonsense. Such an attitude could benefit them only if they were struggling for time because they were lagging behind in the nuclear and conventional weapons race—which is widely known not to be so.

Nor is the view that the walk-out amounts to an enormous propaganda blunder well justified. Even in the West there are many people who consider their own side's slowness to justify Russian impatience, so that the walk-out does not act quite so adversely on the Soviets as might be expected. But the more important point is that whatever propaganda effect arises from the incident is more likely to favour the Russian side than to damage it in other parts of the world. Mr. Nehru is far from being the only leader of an uncommitted country who thinks that more nations than the ten at Geneva should be taking part in such vital discussions as on disarmament;

**A 23-YEAR-OLD ALDERMASTON MARCHER, GEOFFREY HUTCHINSON, FROM RIPLEY, DERBYSHIRE, WAS ARRESTED LAST FRIDAY AND CONFINED TO THE GUARDROOM AT A ROYAL ARMY MEDICAL CORPS UNIT AT QUEEN ELIZABETH BARRACKS, CROOKHAM, HAMPSHIRE.**

"I shall refuse to march, wear uniform or remove my Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament badge," he told me in Derby last week.

He arrived at the camp on June 23 at 4.15 p.m. with one change of civilian clothing. In a letter to *Peace News* from the camp later the same day he explained that on arrival with about 20 other conscripts he was asked routine questions and given a yellow badge denoting his unit. This he pinned beneath his CND badge. A corporal queried his two badges and was presented with a précis of his views. The corporal laughed heartily and wished him the best of luck.

After the traditional "short back and sides" haircut, the twenty new conscripts gathered in the barrack room. At 8 p.m. a corporal came in and suggested that each man talk for a few minutes on his home and hobbies. Geoffrey Hutchinson rose and gave a five-minute talk on Christian pacifism. He announced his intention of refusing to wear uniform. The silence was absolute.

The news spread and soon he was being badgered with questions from the other recruits.

### Awaiting court martial

The following morning he refused to accept a uniform from the clothing store. He repeated his refusal in front of a sergeant and three corporals and was marched off to the Commanding Officer. After the interview he telephoned *Peace News* the details of the conversation:

*What's all this nonsense about?*

*I refuse, as a conscientious objector, to wear uniform.*

*Have you been registered as a CO?*

*No.*

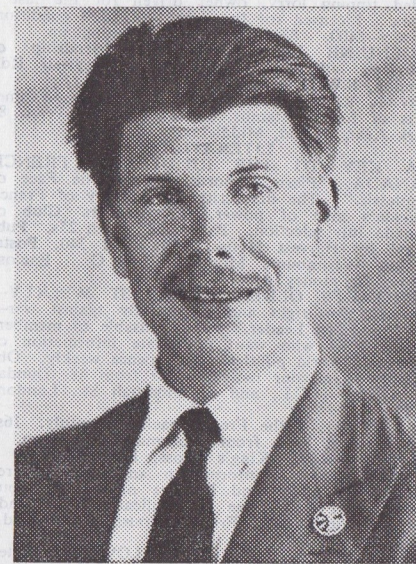
*I will give you till nine o'clock tomorrow morning to think this over.*

*The answer will be the same then.*

*Get out of here and let's have no more of this \* \* \* nonsense!*

At 9.45 a.m. next morning he was ushered into the office of the Commanding Officer and in front of witnesses he repeated his refusal. He was arrested and now awaits court martial.

Geoffrey Hutchinson left Swanwick



Geoffrey Hutchinson, the Aldermaston marcher, who makes his protest among soldiers.

Yorks. On leaving for camp he was still awaiting his final exam. results.

He registered for military service in 1955 but obtained deferment to study. Whilst at university he attended a meeting in Bristol addressed by Dr. Donald Soper and organised by the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Shortly afterwards he met a member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship. He too became a member. In his final year he helped to organise an FoR group at the University.

### Protest among soldiers

In 1957 he wrote to the Ministry of Labour changing his registration to that of conscientious objector. In the letter he stated: "As a member of the Anglican Church I believe that the use of force in settling conflict is not compatible with

### LABOUR AND 'DEFENCE'

The new policy statement is discussed in J. Allen Skinner's Commentary  
page four

### 'NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE'

Professor Hugh Seton-Watson's new book is reviewed by Geoffrey Carnall  
page six

### U.S. PUBLIC OPINION

Jim Peck looks at recent surveys on military training and race relations  
page eight

### THE PRIVILEGED CHURCH

A review of Pastor Trocmé's 1960 Alex Wood